MODERN POLICIES,

Taken from *Machiavel*, *Borgia*, and other choice Authors, by an eye-*witnesse*.

Hom. Αλλά τὰ μὲν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.

Salust. Fragm. *Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.*

Plautus in Captivis. *Nam doli, non doli sunt, ni si Astu colas,*
Sed malum maximum, si id palam pervenit.

Trinummus. *Ambitio jam more sancta'st, Libera'st a Legibus,*
Petere honorem pro flagitio, more sit:
Mores, Leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

The fourth Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *Tho: Dring*, at the signe of the *George* in Fleet-street neer *Cliffords Inne*. 1653.

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LONDON: Printed for Tho: Dunn, at the sign of the Gloster in Pleet-street, near Chancery Lane. 1653.

To my very good Lord
My Lord *R. B. E.*

My Lord

I Was never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye, what I now send, appeales to your Candor, intreating you to lay aside the per-

ſon of a Iudge, for that of a Friend. It is at beſt but a Pamphlet, whether you conſider its bulke, or worth. The reſult of a few penſive houres ſpent in recollecting what the memory had regiſtred from publike obſervance, or private reading, in a Theme ſo ſadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it

was

was this; Having had opportunity to looke abroad into the world, I tooke some notice of the Contrastos of the Italian Princes; I remark'd the *Spaniards* griping *Portugal*; his grounds for the challenge of that Kingdome, & his way of managing those grounds; I lookt upon his method of propagating Christianity in the West: (where one

saies the Indian is bound to be religious and poore upon paine of death.) Moreover, I observed with what Artifice the Pope moderated in the European quarrels, and with what devices he twisted the Gospell, and the Advantage of the Chaire together; and in all the struglings and disputes, that have of late years befalne this corner of

the World, I found that although the pretence was fine and spirituall, yet the ultimate end, and true scope, was gold, and greatnesse, and secular glory.

But (my Lord) to come nearer, when I saw Kingdomes tottering, one Nation reeling against another, yea, one piece of a Nation justling the other, and split into so many parties, and

petty enmities: and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad, and exorbitant opinions; I sigh'd, and it grieved me to see popular easinesse, and well-meaning abus'd by Ambitious self-seeking men; for there is a Generation that is born to bee the plague, and disquiet, and scourge of the Age it lives in; that gladly sacrifice the publike peace to

private intereſt; and when they ſee all fired, with joy warme their hands at thoſe unhappy flames, which themſelves kindle, tuning their merry Harps, when others are weeping over a kingdomes funerall.

But above all, it pierced my heart to ſee the Clergy in ſuch an high degree acceſſory to the civill diſtempers, and con-

tentions that have every where shak'd the Foundations of Church and State; so that (as a Catholike noted) there hath been no floud of misery, but did spring from, or at least was much swel'd by their Holy-water. I search-ed Evangelicall Records, and there was nothing but milde and soft Doctrines; I inquired into the breathings of the

the Spirit, and they were pacificatory; I wondered from what Precedents and Scripture incouragements these men deduc'd their practises, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended Chaplains to the Prince of Peace; Those Torches that should have been for saving Light, were degenerated into Incendiary brands; Those Trum-

pets

pets that should have founded retreats to popular furies, knew no other musicke but Martiall All-armes.

I have endeavoured in the sequell to represent to you the Arts of Ambition, by giving you the picture of a person over covetous of glory, the peice is course, but yet like; drawne onely in water colours, which some of greater Leisure and Abili-

Abilities may possibly hereafter lay in oyle.

You know that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the Ocean, πίθος τετρημένος, ἀπέρωτος ἐπιθυμίας, A bored tub is not more insatiate. Tis pity that greatnesse should at any time be out of the Rode of goodnesse; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with

Socrates

Socrates, curse him that first separated profitable and honest.

It does to me a little relish of Paradox, that where ever I come, *Machiavell* is verbally curs'd and damn'd, and yet practically imbraced and asserted; for there is no Kingdome but hath a Race of men that are ingenious at the perill of the publike, so that as one said of *Galba* in respect

ſpect of his crooked body: *Ingenium Galbæ malè habitat*; ſo may I ſay of theſe in regard of their crooked uſe; That wit could not have choſen a worſe manſion, then where it is vitiated, and made a Pander to wickedneſſe.

If you aske mee what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under ſuch a glut of Books? You may eaſily perceive that

that I conſulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing publike eſteeme by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and though it might poſſibly be of ſome caution to prevent the inſinuation of pious frauds, and Religious fallacies into my native Country: If any plaine-hearted, honeſt man ſhall caſt away

way an houre in perusing it, he may perhaps finde something in it resembling his owne thoughts, and not altogether strange to his owne experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft times endear'd to us by false Titles and Complements; being couzened with a specious name, though much incoherent to

the

the thing we ascribe
it; or else, omitting
the vice which is the
maine, it intimates
onely the veritie,
which is the By-As
for example, we call
an ambitious man
μεγαλεπιθυμος, a person
of notable aime and
high enterprize;
Whereas in truth it
signifies, an indirect
affection of Gran-
deur: And I finde that
by incautelous inter-
tainment of these

Phrases

Phraſes, our judgments are often brib'd to miſapprehenſions, & we ſeduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the enſuing diſcourſe to wipe off the paint and fucus: that ſo things may appeare in their true complexion, unadulterated with the ſlights and ſubtilties of Deluders.

My Lord, That your Lordſhip may be one of thoſe which

the

the darke Poet calls Νὶς ἡβήσαιτα, that the youth of your Honours may be renewed to you, that your happines may be acquainted with no other ſeaſon but a ſpring, is the earneſt vote

Of your

bounden

SERVANT.

THe name of Prince, which I often use, must be understood, as convertible with any person, or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy; all the dialects of Government being concerned in the Abuse; I have made the cheife, and most familar, to represent the rest:

I am not ignorant that the Quotations may justly seeme more numerous than method, and the Rule of Art will conveniently allow; I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectednesse; that I have been

a little

little ſtudious of Elegance, and curioſity in the compoſure; eſteeming nakedneſſe to be the beſt dreſs of truth: and if I miſtake not, thoſe attendants I have here procured for her, may afford ſome material, though litle ornament all advantage.

A

A Præmonition.

IT *is farre from the de-ſigne of this Treatiſe, to derogate from the ho-nour of the calling, or worth of the perſon of any ſober Stateſman; 'Tis a know-ledge that no man obſerves with more due reſpects then my ſelfe; Becauſe, I know it is no meane degree eſſen-tiall to the peace, and flou-riſhing condition of a King-dome or Common-wealth. 'Tis a jewell to be lock'd up in ſome few rare Cabinets,*

and

and not to be made cheape,
and expos'd to irreverence,
by being bared, and prosti-
tuted to every vulgar eye.
The Pseudo-Policy *here*
mention'd is contradistinct
to that science, which is e-
ver built upon piety and
prudence; for upon these
solid Bases, your wise Ar-
chitect delights to raise he
glorious superstructure of
government in a Prince,
and subjection in a people:
so knitting the Interest of
both with reciprocall mix-
ture, that the welfare of
the one may be involv'd in
the good of the other: that
Majesty may be preserv'd
in its just splendor, and ye

the Liberty of the Subject remaine inviolate: Hee is the Atlas of the falling State, cures it when ſicke, ſets it when diſ-joynted, meets it in its ſeverall preſſures with ſutable reliefs. Such was Philip de Commines, of whom one ſaid, it was a meaſuring caſt, whether Lewis were the wiſer King, or Philip the wiſer Counſellour: ſuch was Burleigh to our late Queen Elizabeth, whoſe adviſe had very eminent influence into the proſperitie of her Reign, which was ſuch, as I beleive few ages can parallel, and future times will read her happy Annals, as

written like Xenophon's Cyrus, Non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad exemplum justi imperij; *So that if we love Peace, or Plenty, or Liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgment to owne that in* Plutarch, τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἄνθρωπος οὐ κτᾶται τελειοτέραν.

Cato Maior.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge has been abused to loose and ambitious ends, by some men who seem to have suck'd the venome out of all politicks, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their

Ophyogenes, & Psylli.

their own occasions, like the Lawes that were made in Cauſinus *his* Babel, *to be ru'd by manners, and not manners by Lawes. They vex true Policy by miſinterpreting, and falſe gloſſing; framing in their hearts* Diana's *of hypocriſy and ſubtilty, and worſhiping them in their actions:*

Furialibus commentariis illuſtrant.

The Rules following there are few ſo ſilly as to beleive, though too many ſo wicked as to practiſe; and not only ſo, but by a bold impoſture to perſwade that ſuch actions as are deduc'd from theſe principles, are juſtifiable, and if fortunate

timate, commendable.

That all may see these Rocks, and shun them; and detest knavery though never so specious, and nauseate shame, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

First

First Principle.

The Polititian must have the shadow of Religion, but the substance hurts.

THere is no superstition in Politicks more odious, then to stand too much uponniceties and scruples: and therefore *Machiavel* cut the hai re, when he advis'd, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such a

prudent neglect, as is ſcarce diſcernable from a tenderneſſe: not permitting it to be techy and reluctıng, nor yet proſtituting it, unleſſe upon ſolemne and inſuperable occaſion: Hee notes it from *Papirius* in *Livy*, who ſlighted the *Pullarii* handſomly, and was rewarded; whereas *Appius Pulcher* did it groſly, and was punished.

But becauſe the Polititian is beſt able to tell his own documents, you may pleaſe to conceive you found theſe broken diſcourſes in his ſtudy: to

to each of which I ſhall adde an Antidote.

Externall holineſſe invites awfull regards; There is no mask that becomes Rebellion and Innovation ſo well as Religion; Nothing that ſo much conceals deformity, & pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing ſo to diſſimulate piety, that when we act ſtrongly againſt it, in that very article of wickednes the people Saint us: *Herod* would faine worſhip, when he means to worry.

---Ipſo ſceleris Molimine
Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius:

This is that which leades the World in a ſtring, that hallowes the moſt helliſh enterpriſes: for the common people (which are the τὸ πολὺ) never ſee behind the curtain, a handſome gloſſe is with them as good as the Text: I believe the great Naturaliſt was in the right, when he call'd a Deity a jolly invention,

Plin. l. 2. 6. 7. *Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid eſt ſummum, ſed credi ex uſu vitæ eſt,* Let me enjoy the temporall advantages of Religion, and let others take the eternall; Let me uſe it for a cloak

or

or a Crutch, and let others expect from it a Crowne.

The River in *Athenæus* is my emblem, whose upper waters were sweet and gratefull, but towards the bottome brackish. Let me be a superficiall, let others be fundamentall Christians: I like the humour of the *Samseans* in *Epiphanius*, that were neither *Jewes*, nor *Gentils*, nor *Christians*, but preserving a *commodious* Correspondence with all: whatsoever I act in reference to Heaven is meerely theatricall; and done in subor-

43 *Fons in Mileto, cuius profluens aqua dulcissima, quæ vero in imo salsa.*

dination to some other interest. *Lycurgus* could never have ingratiated his Lawes so effectually, if he had not pretended a Dialogue with his Goddesse. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the Religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular: and if the people I meane to juggle with err fundamentally, I can by no meanscourt them more, then by imbracing their delusion; It buckles them very close to me in morall observance, to assist them in their spiritual soundnes, and mix with their di-

stemper;

ſtemper; and therefore I commonly lead the Van in the Faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in Hells blacke Canons. How comfortably the *Pope* and *Cardinall* conferd notes, ——*Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Chriſto!* O the rich income and glorious reſult of hypocriſie! This, this muſt be diligently ſtudyed and practis'd.

——*Da juſtum ſanctumque videri,*
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

Privacy

Privacy for a ſinne, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes ſeeme as white as innocency it ſelf: the ſtrictneſs of that Thiefe was very notable, who alwayes before hee went about the Worke of his Calling (for ſo he call'd ſtealing) went to prayers that God would bleſſe and proſper him: So I ſay grace to the Deſign, be it never ſo wicked, and give thankes for the ſucceſſe, bee it never ſo bloody.

But further in ſubſerviency to a looſe intereſt, there muſt bee no ſuch pu-

puling thing as conſcience; Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what elſe the Chriſtian eſteems moſt ſacred, muſt all truckle under the plot, but not be obſerv'd when they come to oppoſe it: Had *Alexander* boggled at invading other mens Kingdomes, hee had never wept for the ſcarcity of Worlds. There is noe greater obſtacle to generous Actions, then a coy and ſquemiſh conſcience; 'Tis pretty that ſome tel us that it ſtrikes *Surdo verbere*, and then how can it bee heard in the

the noiſe and buſtle of a clamorous World? Had your mighty Conquerours, and your valiant Captaines, and your thriving Popes, liſtned to this inward Charmer, their names had never ſwell'd, and look'd bigg in the Rolls of Fame.

Cola

Colasterion.

BUt let all ſober Chriſtians know, that this ſhell of Religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that Gods pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency: We may poſſibly deceive men, but tis in vaine to put Ironies upon God. A counterfeit Religion ſhall find a reall Hel, and tis pitty that ſuch a Sacred thing ſhould be *violenced*, & made to obſtetricate to rebellious irregular deſignes. As

As for ſuch who have conſpir'd with the wrath of God in the ſtupefaction of their conſciences, though they may for a time ſtruggle with thoſe inward checks, yet there will bee a day (if not in this life) when that witneſs, that Judge, that Jury will not bee bribed. God hath fixed it in the ſoul as an eternall Regiſter, as an impartiall Diary, as the *Cenſor* of the affections, and Pædagogue of the paſſions. It does not only illuſtrate divine juſtice in an *Autocatacriſi*, but was meant by God for a bridle and reſtriction;

Origen.

on; And he that hath by an inveterate wickedneſs conquer'd the oppoſition which God ſeated in his heart to ſin, may poſſibly conſult well with his preſent advantage and greatneſſe, but not at all with his future comfort; for beſides the loſſe of that intimate pleaſure which waites upon innocency; Hee feels ſometimes thoſe boſome quarrells that verberate and wound his Soule, — for

Vinum in pectore.

Συνείδησις τὴν ψυχὴν πλήτ]ει.

Prin-

Principle II.

The Politician must by all means make the most insinuating applications to the people that hee can; and lock up his owne designe, in pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE prosperity of Innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then weilding those grudges to

to the favour & advantage of private ends; for the people are to the Polititian like tools to the Mechanick, he can performe nothing without them, they are his wings, his wheels, his Implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually, there must be an excellency in these following slights.

First, To assign such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he ayms at: as if he means to alter the Government, or to ingross

groſs the Supremacy, he muſt artificially convince of a neceſſity to arme, 1. Defenſively, and if that ſucceeds, 2. Offenſively; This hee may do by falſe Alarmes of danger, inventing horrid News, and plying the people with ſuch fictitious perils, as may make them beleive, Religion and Liberty, and All is at ſtake, and that they are the Geeſe that muſt ſave the Capitoll.

ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

Secondly, when hee ſees opportunity to reveale his own deſigne, he muſt doe it gradually, and by peece-meale; for that

that which at one view would bee a Mormo to fright them, give it them in ſmall parts, and they will digeſt it well enough.

Thirdly, Hee muſt compoſe his very garbe and geſture: 'tis a great matter to tell a lye with a grace; as, if Religion be the Mode, he muſt in his tales knock his breaſt, atteſt God, and invoke imprecations upon himſelfe, if hee does not doe that, which hee never intends.

Fourthly, Hee gives them good words, and bad Actions, like thoſe the

the Hiſtorian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis*, raviſhes them with apprehenſions of Liberty, under the higheſt ſtrain of oppreſſion: for it is moſt certaine if, you pleaſe them: with the name, they will imbrace it for name and thing. Something like this had beene impoſed upon *Rome*, when the Orator writ to his Friend *Atticus*, —— *Nomina rerum perdidimus, & licentia militaris libertas vocatur*, that they were cheated in names, for military Licence was miſcal'd

Ingenioſi muſc pulatores.

miſcal'd Liberty; This is wel deſcrib'd by *Plautus* in *Truculento*.

In melle ſunt linguæ ſitæ veſtræ, atque orationes,
Lactéque: corda felle ſunt ſita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amare facitis.

Fifthly, He obſerves that they receive probabilities wiſely propounded, more greedily then naked truths: and therefore he is very ſtudious to glaſe and poliſh his *Impoſtures*, that ſo they may to a looſe eye diſſemble truth, according to that of *Pindar*,

καλὸν πῆμα.

γλυκὺ ψεῦδος.

——Βροτῶν φρένα——

ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις, ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι:

Or that of *Menander*: τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει ἐνίοτε μείζω, ἢ πιθανοτε τέραν ὄχλου.

Sixthly, when hee hath by the assistance of the people got the sword into his owne hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future complyance. Hee that courted them before with all the adulatory termes, that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been

vow

vow'd their Martyr, and ready to ſacrifice his deareſt enjoyments upon the Altar of publick liberty and freedome; as if his veines knew no other blood, but ſuch as he would be proud to ſpend in their ſervice, having now ſerved himſelfe of them, he forgets the boſome that warm'd him, they hear from him now in a Palinode, he curles up his ſmooth complements into ſhort Laconicks, and exchanges his Court-ſhip for command.

Colasterion.

FIrst, We may be assured that there is no greater Index of ambition, then an affectation of popularity: which appeares in meek addresses to the people, wooing and familiar condescentions, bemoaning their sufferings, commending a more vigorous sense of them; that of the *Comick* is no bad rule,

Non temerarium est ubi dives blande appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera:
Nemini credo, qui longe blandu'st dives pauperi.

Or that which *Livy* notes of a Grandee, *Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ superbiâ comitatem fore*, the extreame kindnesse or fawning of great persons, is alwaies suspicious, because often fraudulent: remember the *Sileni*, that use to kill with huggs, and embraces.

Secondly, Know it's very usuall for men to personate goodnesse, till they have accomplished their ends; 'tis observed of *Appius*, when he had his wish, *Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ*; tis an old note,

Maxima pars morem hunc hominum habent, quod sibi volunt, Dum id impetrant, bani sunt, sed ubi iam penes se habent, Ex bonis pessimi, & fraudulentissimi sunt.

Athenæus tells a pret
ty story, of one *Athenio*
born obscurely, who
long as hee was priva
and poor, excelled in
soft and tractable dispo
sition, but when by ju
ling he had obtained t
Athenian Governmen
there was none more o
dious for a cruel, cove
ous, & barbarick tyra
ny: as it is reported
Caligula, there was nev

a better Servant, and a worse Master.

Thirdly, We know that a good aime, much leſs a good pretence can not juſtifie a bad action, and therefore we ought to be as Solicitous about the lawfulneſſe of the meanes, as about the goodneſſe of the end. It is a *Maxim* in Morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Chriſtianity, that wee muſt not doe evil that good may come of it; & we may poſſibly eſcue our ſelves from future couſenage, if we examine the lawfulneſſe of every circumſtance

leading to the end pro-
pounded, before we are
tickled and transported
with the beauty of the
pretence.

Principle. III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapſes of the former Magiſtrate muſt be inculcated with the greateſt advantage, and what is wanting in reality, muſt be ſupplyed in Calumny.

IT cannot eaſily be imagined of what ſingular importance the aſperſing and blotting of a Prince is, to boyl up popular diſcontent to that height which is requiſite for a rebellion; and here it muſt diligent

Ly be enquired if there have not beeene indeed ſuch lapſes, as have gal'd the people; and though they be old ſores and skin'd, yet they muſt be ſearcht and refreſhed, and exaſperated with all the urging circumſtances, that come within the invention of ſcandal; It muſt be remembred, if any perſons of publick note have ſuffer'd under the Sword of Juſtice, whoſe crimes can by Art or eloquence be extenuated, whoſe hard meaſure muſt be mentioned with teares, that ſo old Traytors may be pro-

pounded

pounded for new *Martyrs*. This hath been the ordinary Method of Ambition, as you may find it noted by a great Scholar in these words, --- *Fuit hæc omnibus ſæculis, & adhuc eſt ad occupandum tyrannidem expeditiſſima via, dum ſummo ſe amore, ac pietate in patriam eſſe ſimulant, principum vitia, & populi miſeriam, apud ſuos primùm, deinde palam querimonda voce lamentantur, non quo plebem, cujus ſolius commodis inſervire videri volunt, ab illo ſervitutis jugo aſſerant in libertatem; ſed quo populari aurâ ſubnixi, aditum ſibi-* *Barclay contra Monarch.* 30.

& jamũ ad eam ipſã dignitatem, nequiora aliquando auſuri patefaciant. And therefore if the Prince be ſevere, he gives him *Nero's* brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: If he be mild and favourable to tender conſciences, he declaims againſt his toleration: If he urge uniformity, and decency in Divine ſervice, he raiſes at his Superſtition. And becauſe there is no ſuch æquilibrious vertue, but has ſome flexure to one of the extreams he is very

ry carefull to publiſh the extream alone, and to ſilence the vertue.

But if the Prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himſelf from obloquy (wich ſhall ſcarce be, if ſmall faults be rightly improved) then *Machiavels* advice muſt be follow'd, to calumniate ſtoutly, till the people have entertained ſomething to his prejudice: 'Tis a Figure in Politicks to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the people be diſpoſed to alteration, theſe muſt be

candida vita.

be first urged against a Monarch to depose him, or if need be to murther him; which is commendable, if you can dresse him up like a Tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest *Scot*, who complaines that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for Tyrannicides: and by the best of Orators, — *Græcos Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt*: and by the Tragedian,

Buchanan.

Pro Milone.

Victima haud ulla amplior potest.

Hercules furens.

Magisve

Magisve optima mactari
Jovi,
Quam Rex iniquus.

And secondly, these personall faults must be artificially devolved upon *Monarchy* it self.

There remaines to dispersé the commendations of that Government which is intended for a Successor: if *Aristocracy*, the long-liv'd prosperity of *Sparta* and *Venice*, is a very plausible evidence of its goodnes: If *Democracy*, the happines of the *Romanes* under their Tribunes is very memorable; to which may

Upon Livi p. 22.

may be added this out of *Machiavel*: that they are the moſt ſutable guardians of any thing, who are leaſt deſirous to uſurp it: and without doubt conſidering the deſignes of the Nobility and the people, we muſt confeſſe, that the firſt are very ambitious of rule, the laſt deſire onely not to be oppreſt.

Cola-

Colaſterion.

I Preſume that perſon is very rare, that can boaſt of ſuch an abſolute Saint-ſhip whilſt he is amongſt mortals, but that there will now and then ſome actions fall from him, which confeſſe humanity, and require Candor: ſome leaves in the volume of the faireſt life, that are *Legenda cum veniâ*: If this be a common frailty, why do we fix ſuch rigid cenſures upon the miſcarriages of Princes? or why do we deny them the ſame mild-

mildneſs which we uſe, when wee commiſerate the infirmities of other Men? 'Tis yet much more diſingenious to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which it may be have been long ago expiated with many good: Take this from no mean Statiſt —— *Iniqua in omni re accuſanda, prætermiſſis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque ſelectio; nam ne ullus quidem iſto modo magiſtratus vituperabilis non erit.*

As greatneſſe gives a gloſſe to the vertues of a Prince, ſo it mitigates his vices; for if we look up-

on him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyment; we see withal that *variety* of temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other Guard, no other weapon then his meer vertue; sometimes we are defended from a sin by our very impotency, it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach; we do not, because we cannot; how often are our wils offenders, when our hands are innocent? wee are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his

immoderate

immoderate desires but himselfe. This is that which inhances the goodnes of a Prince, as that excellent Poet leads his Temperate Knight through al the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a Conquerour. *Spencer.*

But suppose a Magistrate really tyrannical; it is no contemptible question, Whether the evils of the redresse may not be equivalent to the mischiefe. I remember *Livie's*, *Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium:* and *Plutarchs*, χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρ-

μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον: and *Tacitus*, *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt, donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur*; and *Seneca*, *Infeliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo.* Poise the miseries of a civil War with the grievances of an unjust Magistrate, and the Politician must take many granes of allowance from fallacy to make the scales even. For though the fury of incensed tyranny may fal hea-

vy

χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι ἀδελφῶν, Arist. Pol. 7.

vy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an intestine Sword, are more epidemicall, and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a Governour upon the Government its self, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more grosse abuse, then τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν.

Isocrates.

For King-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discouse of it; only I finde it damn'd by an

an able English Divine Jesuiticall; and *Tacitus* commends to subjects rather *scutum* then *gladium*, the shield of patience and toleration, rather then the Sword.

Jo. Goodwin, in his Anticavaleriſm.

Prin-

Principle IV.

The Polititian must nourish some mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines, to cry up his aymes in their Churches, that so the poyson may insinuate more generally into all the parts.

HE that peruses History, will finde that there hath beene no Innovation so grosse, no Rebellion so hideous, but hath had some Ecclesiasticall Fomentors: for such as want worth

worth enough of their owne to reach preferment in a regular way, are moſt apt to envy the juſt honours of better men; and deſpairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aſpire to it by the crooked meanes of faction and ſchiſme; nor are theſe deſpicable inſtruments to the Polititian; for the ſharpeſt ſword in his Army cannot vye ſervices with a ſubtle quill: You may ſee his buſineſſe in the Comick, γραφέων, βιβλείων, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμήσων. *Ariſtoph.*

The Jeſuite reckons it

Concutiunt populos, vexant regna, solicitant bella, diruunt Ecclesias.

it in the number of his merits, if he may by any siniſter wayes ruffle and diſorder Heretical kingdomes (ſo he cals them) encourage weak and unſtable mindes to ſlight Magiſtracy', irritate diviſions, tumults, rebellions, abſolve from oaths, and al ſacred ties; ſo that it is hard to find any tragicall Scene, or bloody Theatre, into which the *Jeſuite* hath not intruded, and been as buſie as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in a very high meaſure to every fanatick inſolence, 'Juſtifying the old Lemma of

Loiola's

Loiola's Picture, *Cavete vobis Principes*: These are the firebrands of *Europe*, the forge and Bellows of sedition, Internall Emissaries, the Pests of the Age, men that live as if huge sinnes would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis.

2. Not is any Nation without some turbulent spirits of its own, the dishonour of the Gown and Pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruine of their Countrey; you would thinke they had their Text from a Gazet, because you heare so much of a Curranto in

Classica canere.

the Application: That these may be fit implements for the Polititian, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principall gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing & urging the holy Text, constraining it to patronize the design; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphaticall termes; 1. Cogging the Dye, making the Word speake what they list; 2. Crafty applications, and expositions of it; 3. All the Methods and Arts of consenage, ὡραιά-

ζονται

ζονται καὶ χρυσιάζονται λόγους, gilding and varnishing rotten doctrines, and this must be done.

Κυβεία Γαυρυγία μεθοδεία πλάνης.

1. In publick, vomiting out flames and Sulphur from that Sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but milde and soft, that is, Evangelicall Embassages.

2. In private, at Parlour Sermons, and meeting houses, where he is listened to as an Oracle, and here commonly he is more Euthsiuast then Scripturist, and his Auditors beleive his dreams to be as Canonical as the

οἰκοφθόροι. Evangeliopthori.

Revelation; like those *Melancthon* speakes of, *Quicquid somniant, volunt esse spiritum sanctum*, or those that the Father chides, when he tels them that every whimsey is not Prophesie Οὐ πᾶν ἐννύχιον εὔθυς προφητεία.

3. Hee ought to be of some abilities in disputing, and what he wants in Logick, he must supply in Garrulity: for whatsoever hee affirmes, the interest he hath in his seduc'd hearers improves into a Syllogisme; if you ask after his *Topicks*, *Ex officina carnificum argumenta*

Populi. ταχυπειθία. St. Hierom

menta petit : if after his *weapons*, *Armat ſe ad latrocinium per Chriſti nomen*, and the wound hee makes is Faction ; thoſe conſciences which will not ſurrender to his parly, his Maſter takes by ſtorme : And thus hee abuſes Chriſt, by pretending his Favour to unwarrantable Actions ; hee abuſes his Prince, by alienating the affection and allegiance of his ſubjects; he abuſes the Church, by ſhattring it into rents and ſchiſms ; wounding it with a feather from its own wing, ſnatching a Coale from Strada.

Ecclesiæ nomine armamini & contra Ecclesiam dimicatis. Aug.

the Altar, to fire both Church and State; and lastly he abuses himselfe, for when the Polititian hath made his best use of his seditious spirit, hee leaves him to his owne wilde distempers, having directed his owne thoughts to another Goale.

Colasterion.

ALthough we have caution enough against these in sad and frequent experiences, these latter Ages groaning under the effects of an exorbitant Clergy; yet such is the easinesse and credulity of the Vulgar, such the subtlety and dissembled sanctity of the Impostor, that hee meets with as great a proneneſſe in the people to be cousened, as he brings willingneſſe to delude; for it is a true Observation, that these

Clancular Sermocinators beare as great ſway in popular mindes, and make as deep impreſſion upon their conſciences, as the *Loyoliſts* doe, when they impoſe upon their blinde Laity.

I dare onely ſubjoyne theſe few adviſes.

First, I ſhould ſuſpect a Clericall Statiſt, I meane ſuch a one as in the diſpenſation of Sacred Oracles, tampers with ſecular affaires, unleſſe it be in caſe of high concernment to his Auditors ſoules.

Secondly, I ſhould believe him a Jugler, that ſprinkles

ſprinkles his Sermons with murmurs againſt the lawfull Magiſtrate, Eccleſiaſticall, or Civill, unleſſe he hath ſome better ground for his diſlike, then a thwarting his humour, in things Controverſiall and Adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I ſhould more then doubt his knavery, that ſhould ſuborn Scripture, to atteſt, or incite to Illegall Actions, as a kin to that, which *Salvian* calls *Religioſum ſcelus.*

4ly. All newes in Religion, whether in Doctrine or Diſcipline, is the Kainotomia.

common skreene of pri-
vate design; Let *Mæcenas*
Apud. Dion. Cass. tell it, Τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας
περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ μι-
σεῖ καὶ κόλαζε, πολλοὺς γὰρ
ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν.
Which is noted by the
great *Causabon* in his Epi-
stle before his Baronian
exercitations, thus; *Cu-
piditas novandi hæc secum
mala semper trahit, Christi
inconsutilem tunicam lace-
rat, sectas novas parit, &
statim multiplicat, Eccle-
siam & populum concutit*
&c.

Tis sad to see *Urania*
divine *Urania* inroll'd in
blood, the Stars and Lu-
minaries

minaries of the Church, to shed such blacke and malignant influences; in lieu of pious documents, to heare none but furious incentives; *Ite alacres, tantæque precor confidite Causæ*; The Cause they serve, is the doctrine and the use, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their discourses; if you like to confer notes, you may finde a peice of their Sermon in *Barclay* to this effect, *Se Evangelij libertatem prædicare, nullum Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi*: *Papirius.* Con. Monarc. p. 32.

vi quemquam adigere; ea
esse Evangelij doctrinam, u
omnes conscientiæ fruantu
libertate: sibique ut id li-
ceat, votis omnibus postu-
lare.

Paynim.

Con. Mo-
narc. p. 32.

Prin-

Principle. V.

If ſucceſſe waites upon his Enterpriſes, he urges it to authenticate his Cauſe.

THere is no Argument more popular then ſucces, becauſe the bulke of men is not able to diſtinguiſh the permiſſion of God, from his approbation: And although it be in its ſelfe fallacious and feeble, yet the miſery of the conquer'd denies them the opportunity to diſpute it; for the oppoſition of the Sword will never be con-

confuted by the bare fist of Logick. Nor doth the Victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free?

In *Pompeio.* Δοῦλος σώματος, ὁ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν λόγος; as the souldiers in *Plutarch* wondred any would be so importunate to preach Laws, and Morall reasons to men with Swords by their sides; Οὐ παυσεσθε ὑμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγιγνώσκοντες: And if Armes knew not how to descend to rationall inquiries, but were enough justified by

an

an odd kinde of neceſſity of their owne creating; like thoſe in *Livy*, *In armis jus ferre, & omnia fortium virorum eſſe.*

I have often conſidered with my ſelfe, what ſhould move Tyrants to Print Juſtifications of themſelves, and aſſertions of their proceedings, which I ſuppoſe never made an underſtanding man a Convert, nor met with a cordiall reception in any; unleſſe the abuſe of a few, poore, ſhallow Beleivers, be thought a tryumph worth their paines. I have ſometimes thought they do by theſe papers

papers pleaſe themſelves in their abilities to delude, and ſo gratifie their tyranny over the nobleſt part of m n, by denying the Liberty of the thought, and ſubduing the powers of the Soule to an implicit coherence with their owne magiſteriall opinions.

But our Polititian, by quoting the ſucceſſe of his undertakings, beſides the plauſibleneſs, and inſinuating nature of the Propoſition its ſelf, hath the advantage of power to make us beleive him.

Nor is this bait contemptible, many of parts

and

and prudence, yea and of Religion, have been ſtagger'd by it; ſome queſtion whether *Diagoras* deſerv'd the brand of Atheiſme, conſidering the wilde conceits they then had of their Gods; or differ'd from the common Creed, crying out, O how the Gods favour ſacriledge! when he had a merry gale, after a ſacrilegious atempt. The beſt of the Roman Hiſtorians calls the Victory, the juſt Arbitreſſe of the Cauſe, *eventus belli velut æquus Judex, unde jus ſtat, ei victoriam dabit*: So hard it is to perſwade meer reaſon

ſon, that vertue may
unfortunate, and vi
happy.

He was no ſmall Po
that argued himſelfe o
of his Gods, by ſec
wickedneſſe honoured,
worth ſlighted: wh
he expreſſes thus;

Murmur Licinus tumulo iacet,
at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo, quis putet eſſe D

In Engliſh.

Licinus does in Marble ſleep,
A common Urne does *Cato* kee
Pompeys aſhes may catch cold,
That there are Gods, let Do
(h

Hipp. There may be ſo
uſe made of that in *Sc*

ca, Honeſta quædam ſcelera ſucceſſus facit, proſperous miſchiefes are Cardinall vertues in the Worlds Ethicks; & therefore the Tragedian repeates it, *Proſperum ac fælix ſcelus, virtus vocatur.* The unwarrantableneſſe is hid and concealed in the glory of the ſucceſſe: wee often praiſe the Macedonian Conqueſt, but ſeldome mention their boundleſſe and unjuſt ambition. *Her. Fur.*

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miſcarry, we cenſure it: ſo that according to the vogue of the World, 'tis the

the event that gives th
colour to the action, and
denominates it good o
Did. bad. Τὸ κρατῆσον τιμῶ-
μεν, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς κατα-
τρέχομεν.

Cola

Colaſterion.

THere is ſome of this Leaven in the judgments of moſt, notwitſtanding thoſe brighter diſcoveries, in the Noone of Chriſtianity we live under. A Bible throughly obſerv'd, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark paſſages of providence: we are ſo ſhort-ſighted, that we cannot ſee beyond time, we value things, and men, by their temporall proſperities, and tranſient glories; whereas if we put Eternity

Eternity into the other scale, it would much outpoise that worldly Lustre, that so much abuses our eye, and cousens our understandings.

I finde not in holy writ that God hath inseparably annex'd goodness and greatness, justice and victory: Hee hath secur'd his servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Christs Kingdome was not, our happinesse is not of this World.

Nor doth my Bible shew me any warrant for appeal to heaven for the decision of this, or that intricacy:

intricacy, by bestowing success upon this party, or that cause, according to its righteousnesse, and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture construction.

The great Turke may justly exult, and prune himselfe in discourses of this nature, if they bee once admitted, & own'd by Christians: And I shall forbeare any longer to think *Mahomet* an Impostor, and must receive the *Alcoran* for Gospel; if I shall bee convinc'd that temporall happinesse and

and triumph, are a true Index of divine Favour. Our Religion hath some thing more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on Earth, but the Crowne and Garlands are reserv'd for Heaven.

The Mony-God in *Aristophanes* pretends a command from *Jupiter* to distribute as great a Largesse to the wicked, as to the good; because if vertue should once impropriate riches, that faire Goddesse would be more wooed for her Dowry, than for her native beauty: So if Religion were attended

ὁ Πλοῦτος.

attended with thoſe outward Allurements that moſt take the ſenſes; we ſhould be apt to follow Chriſt for the loaves, and over-look the ſpirituall charmes, and more noble ends of Chriſtianity.

The Heathen could ſay, *Fœlix prædo mundo exemplum inutile*, Happy Pyracy is a thing of unhappy preſidency; Fortunate ſinnes may prove dangerous temptations; But to ſay that God doth ſignally atteſt the actions of ſuch a perſon, or the juſtice of ſuch a cauſe, by permitting it to proſper, and taper up in the

world, is ſuch a deceit, as deſerves our ſerious abhorrency——I leave it with *Ovids* wiſh,

——Careat ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putant.

Prin-

Principle VI.

The Politician must change with the times.

THAT Alterations & Revolutions in Kingdomes are the rods with which God scourges miscarrying Princes, is resolved by my Lord of *Argenton*: to which may be added out of *Aristotle* in the fift of his Politicks —— *Per fraudem & dolum regna evertuntur*, That the ruines of a Kingdom are often derived from fraud *Comin.* 170

and ſubtleties : I ſhall omit inquiry into other Cauſes, as forrein to my preſent purpoſe.

The Polititian knows beſt how to improve theſe popular Guſts, becauſe hee cauſed them: ſuch a ſtorme is his ſeed time. 'Tis the boaſt of a Dutch man, that he can ſaile with all winds ; the aſpiring man obſerves the quarter whence the faireſt gales of preferment blow, and ſpreads the ſailes of his Ambition to entertaine them; nor can the compaſſe breath more varieties, then his dextrous ſoul has changes

changes and garbs, and ſuitable compliances.

What the Orator cals his top and perfection, to make happy application to the ſeverall humours and genius of all ſotts of men, qualifying his addreſſe with what he knowes will moſt charm the perſon he treats; that the Polititian does not only with his lip, but life you may finde all thoſe Figures and Tropes digeſted into his actions, and made practicall, that are in the other only vocall.

He remembers that of an Engliſh Marqueſſe

(*Pawlet* of *Winchester*) who having ſucceſsfully ſerved four Princes, and ſtill in the ſame roome of favour, unſhaken with the viciſſitudes he had run through; being ask'd by one, by what meanes he preſerv'd his fortune, he replies, that he was made, *ex ſalice, non ex quercu*, of the pliant willow, not ſtubborn Oak, alwaies of the prevailing Religion, and a zealous profeſſor. This eaſineſſe and bending is of abſolute neceſſity; for, if the ſame temper, which inſinuated in violent times, were retained in a com-

Nantons *Reg alia.*

poſed and ſetled government, it would be altogether diſtaſtfull; and ſo on the contrary.

Therefore if Religion be faſhionable, you can ſcarce diſtinguiſh him from a Saint: He does not only reverence the holy Miniſters, but if need be, he can preach himſelfe: If cunctation prevailes, he acts *Fabius*: If the buckler muſt be chang'd for a ſword, he perſonates *Marcellus*: If mildeneſſe be uſefull, *Soderini* of *Venice* was not more a lamb then he: If ſeverities are requiſite, *Nero's* butcheries are ſanctities, com-

pared with his: As *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, ſhifted diſpoſition as he alter'd place (being voluptuous and jovial in *Ionia*, frugal & retir'd in *Lacedæmon*) ſo he proportions himſelfe to time, place, perſon, Religion, with ſuch aplauſibleneſſe, as if he had been born only to ſerve that opinion, which hee harbour'd but as a gueſt whilſt it continued in ſway: having a room in his heart, if occaſion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour; as hee once us'd to extoll the former. And thus like a

ſubtile

subtle *Proteus*, he assumes that shape that is most in grace, and of most profitable conducement to his ends, *In eo stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat.*

He abounds in that which *Varo* cals, *versatile ingenium*, a voluble wit, like the changling derided by *Plautus*, as more turning then a Potters wheele. *Rota figulari versatilior.*

He hath this advantage of the Camelion, that he can assume whiteness; for I finde him often wearing the vest of innocency, to conceale the uglinesse and blacknesse of his attempts.

Finally, he is the Heliotrope to the Sun of Honour, and hath long ſince abjur'd his God, Religion, Conſcience, and all that ſhall interpoſe, and skreen him from thoſe beams, that may ripen his wiſhes and aymes into enjoyments.

Colasterion.

BUt the true Statesman is inviolably constant to his Principles of vertue, and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the means he uses, innocent: he hath a singl eye on the publick good; and if the ship of the State miscarry, he had rather perish in the wrack, than preserve himselfe upon the plank of an in-glorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the Helme, the Rudder he uses, is an honest and vigorous wis-

dome

dome, the Star he looks to for direction is in Heaven; and the port he aymes at, is the joynt welfare of Prince and people.

This constancy is that solid Rock upon which the wise Venetian hath built its long-liv'd Republick: So that it is not improbable the Maiden-Queene borrowed her Motto of *Semper eadem*, from this Maiden Commonwealth.

'Tis true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person; & I grant that there are many innocent com-

pliances;

pliances; *Virgils Obliqua-re ſinus* is obſervable, there may be a bending without a crookedneſſe: We may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; *Paul* became a Jew, that hee might gaine the Jewes, but he did not become a ſinner, that he might gain ſinners; He was made all things to all men, but he was not made ſin to any: that is, his condeſcenſions were ſuch, as did wel conſiſt with his Chriſtian integrity.

Greatneſſe, and Honours, and Riches, and Scepters, thoſe glorious temptations, that ſo much

much inamour the doting world, are too poor shrines for such a sacrifice as conscience, which the Polititian hath so much abus'd by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menstruous, and Ephemerall.

Prin-

Principle VII.

If the Polititian find reaſon to impoſe oathes, Let them be of ſuch ambiguity as may furniſh with a ſenſe obliging to the deſign, and yet ſo ſoft as the people may not feel the ſnare.

IT appeares by ſad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring promiſes, and other ſolemn Tyes; there have been multitudes induced to bind themſelves upon ſome ſecret Looſe, and mentall reſervation; wch they

they have framed to themſelves as a *ſalvo* in caſe of breach: ſo apt we are in affaires of greateſt importance, to adviſe more with corrupt wit than ſound conſcience.

In the Catalogue of ſelf-deluſions, you may poſſibly finde theſe;

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, eſpecially if they be ambiguous; and 'tis hard to find terms ſo poſitive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or ſeem to us to be ſo, if we be diſpoſed.

2. Some are invited to illicite promiſes *qui* illicit,

illicit, becauſe they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frighted into theſe bonds by threats, and loſſes, and temporal concernments, and then they pleaſe themſelves that they ſweare by Dureſs, and ſo are diſingaged.

4. Some are oath-proofe; I mean there are ſuch ſear-ſoul'd men, as will ſwear *Pro* and *Con.*

5. Some have learn'd from the *Civilians*, that though wee ſweare to a thing not materially unlawfull, yet if it impedes a greater morall good, it becomes void. Grot. *de iur. belli*, 245.

6. Some

Some take Liberty to ſweare, becauſe they judge the perſon to whom they ſweare incapable of an oath: as *Cicero* defends the breach of oath to a Theife, from perjury, and *Brutus* to a Tyrant: as it is in *Appian*, οὐδὲν πιστὸν ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, οὐδ' ἔνορκον.

The firſt ſort of theſe falls moſt properly under the notice, and practiſe of our Politician; though he may alſo uſe the laſt, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to caſt his deſire into ſuch ſoft glib expreſſion as will down with moſt:

Yea

Yea, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough Language. If he be unskil'd in this black art, I commend him to the Pædagogy of the *Delphick* Devill.

Now it is most certaine, there is no other tye of such security, and establishment, to a person that hath ravished greatness, and acquired it by violence. Usurpation hath only these two pillars, its owne Armes, and Militia, and publick oath and acknowledgement; and it is scarce worth Quærie, whether, when th

the Groſſe of a Nation is thus bound, the Oath be not as valid, and the conſcience as much concerned, as if it had beene ſworn to a lawful Prince. It is reaſonable that an uſurping power cannot upon any prudent perſwaſion have the ſame confidence in the love of the people that a Juſt hath: Nor is the following government inticing, as *Tacitus* notes, *Nec quiſquam imperium malis artibus quæſitum benè adminiſtravit.* The ſame with *Guazzo*, where one objecting the vices of Princes, receives this anſwer,

De civil converſe. l.2.p.132.

Per-

Perchè non erano Prencipi per natura, ma per violenza, & erano più temuti che amati: And therefore if the Polititian can by the bleſſed meanes forementioned gaine a ſuperiority, there is no truſting to thoſe ingenuous Guards, his own goodneſſe, and the love of others: His beſt defence is awe, and feare, and Scaffold, and Gibbet, and the like. For he that hath noe voluntary roome in the hearts of his people, muſt uſe all meanes to gaine a coercive.

For his own promiſes he puts them into the ſame

ſame bottomleſſe bag, which the Poets ſay Jupiter made for lovers aſſeverations: His word is as good as his oath, for they are both trifles, as it is in *Plautus*.

Aulular. ——*Pactum non pactum eſt, nu pactum pactum eſt, cum illis Lubet.*

'Twas he that firſt invented that uſeful diſtinction of a Lip-oath, and a heart-Oath; you may find him in *Euripides*.

Juratâ lingua eſt, mente iuravi nihil

Apoph. He makes good uſe of that in *Plutarch*, τὸς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις λῶν ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸς δ' Ἄνδρας ὅρκοις, that children are to

to be couſn'd with rattls, and men with oathes.

'Tis an huge advantage that man hath in a credulous world, that can eaſily ſay and ſweare to any thing; and yet withall ſo palliate his falſifications and perjuries, as to hide them from the conuſance of moſt. The Polititian maſt be furniſhed with handſome refuges, that may ſeemingly heal miſcarriages this way. Hee need not ſpend much time in inquiry after ſuch helps; theſe declining ages wil abundantly furniſh his invention.

Colaſte-

Colasterion.

AN Oath is in its self a religious affirmation, a promise with Gods seale; And therefore it concernes Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to sweare Liquidly, and to observe conscionably. 'Tis pity such slender Evasions should satisfie us, as have bin scorn'd by heathens. We are bound (sayes one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we do ψευδορκεῖν, we are bound to the performance of what wee have thus sworne,

ſworn, or elſe we do ἐπιορκεῖν: Tis much, that a morall conſcience ſhould more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: As if they more honour'd the Genius of a *Cæſar*, than we revere the preſence of a God: or elſe wee ſhould never ingage in new proteſtations, that do interfere, yea, and ſometimes poſitively quarrell with old. They had their Θεοὶ ἐπίορκιοι, their perjury revenging Gods; to whoſe vindictive powers they referr'd their offenders: they puniſhed ſuch as ſwore falſely by their

Prince with fuſtigation; But ſuch as abus'd their Gods, were left to the diſpoſe of their injur'd Deities, as if they were at a loſs how to finde a puniſhment equall to the ſinne. Hear how ſoberly *Plato* mentions it (out of the noble Commentator upon *Philoſtratus*) *En toutes manieres ſà eſte un fort belle ordinance & inſtitution, de n' uſer point du nom des Dieux Legerement, de peur de Les contaminer; car la Majeſte des Dieux ne ſe doit imployer, qu' en un ſaincte & venerabile pureté.* See what reall honour they gave to their counterfeit

terfeit Gods: Let us have a care that we aſcribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every falſe Oath: It appears in his ſeverity to *Zedekiah*, for breaking Covenant with the *Babylonian* Monarch, though a Tyrant of the firſt magnitude. *Cauſabon exercitat.* 202.

Were all Subjects duly ſolicitous about the weight of this bound, we ſhould be leſſe prone to take, and more ſtudious to obſerve it; I remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, derives ὅρκος παρὰ τὸ εἴργω, τὸ συγκλείω, P. 848.

λείαι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ὅτι εἴργει τὸν ἑρκθέντα, It hedges in and ſhuts up a man, and tyes his hands behind him; I know not how ſome Conquerours may cutt this knot with the Sword; or how ſome *Sampſons* may ſhake off theſe cords; or what gaps the Licentious may make in this hedge; But ſuch as value God, or heaven, or Prince, or Peace, can diſcover it no way better than in a ſincere uſe of ſo divine an Ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to beleeve,

beleeve, and when not, what ſuch as are, or would be great, pleaſe to inculcate to us: I finde more wracks upon the rock of credulity: and 'tis no hereſie to affirme, that many have beene ſaved by their infidelity; I commend that of *Epicharmus*,

Νᾶφε, ϗ μέμνασο ἀπιστεῖν.

Principle VIII.

Necessity of State, is a very competent Apology for the worst of Actions.

IT has been observ'd, that in all Innovations and Rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of Religion, or Reformation, or both) the breach and neglect of Laws hath been authorised by that great Patroness of Illegal Actions---Necessity.

ἐκθρὰ ἀνάγκης *seva necessitas.*

Now the Polititian is never without such an Advocate as this; For he cares

cares not to distinguish whether the necessity be of his own creating, or no, as for the most part it is; being indeed an Appendix to the wrong he undertakes: and signifies no more, then that he is compelled to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sin were enough to justifie the first.

He changes that old charitable advise---- *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegita nè perpluant*; into *vitia vitijs aliis pertegito nè perpluant*: that so heaping one crime upon another, the later may

defend the former from the ſtroke of Juſtice.

Hee adores that Maxime in *Livy*, *Juſtum eſt bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus in armis ſpes eſt*: It were very incongruous to deſire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without; 'tis no leſſe unnaturall to invite him to quit his ſword, whoſe life and fortune leans intirely upon it.

If he can inſinuate the ſcope of the Warr to be Legall, a little dawbing will ſerve to Legalize the circumſtances: that of the Civilians muſt be re-

remember —— *Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria*, the Oracles of the Gown are too tender for Sword-men; and it may bee he had wit in his anger, who affirmed, that martiall Law was as great a Solecisme, as Martiall peace. Victor. *de Jure Belli*, nu. 18. 39.

If the people be once possest that his aime and intention is faire, they wil never expect that the *Media* for attainment of his end should be retrench'd by the strict Boundaries of Law: Hee manages that Rule very practically, *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi peri-*

culum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ considerationem invadere possum; Now he can very plausibly make this *periculum*, *certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suite with his affairs.

De iure Belli, l. 424. 'Tis a broad Liberty that *Grotius* concedes, *Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcere eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; & hoc ex jure quod mihi pro me natura concedit.* When Life, and Liberty, and safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pittifull or cruell, honourable

Mach. on Livy, 627.

rable or dishonourable: Now when the people have according to his desire got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot for pious; it is easie to set all future proceedings upon the score of Liberty, Safety, Religion: And if he be constrained to use means grosly unlawfull, 'tis but to make them seem holy in the application, and all's well; For it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rush'd into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately, as if they were under de-

mon-

monſtrative convictions of its Juſtice.

Finally, He muſt make a vertue of Neceſſity, becauſe there is no other vertue will ſo eaſily be induc'd to ſerve his proceedings as this; ſhe may well ſmile upon Licentiouſneſſe, who hath her ſelfe no Law.

Colas

Colasterion.

LEt that great Rule be received, that no man can be neceſſitated to ſinne: Our Divines generally damne an officious Lye; and the equity bindes from any officious ſinne.

It would ſoon cut the nerves of the eighth Commandement, If Neceſſities and Urgencies, though reall, were pronounced a ſufficient excuſe for ſtealing. But that which our Polititian calls Neceſſity, is no more than neceſſity of conve-

nience,

nience, nor so much, except we interpret that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses Necessity, as the old Philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Less. l. 11. 12. *Dub.* 12. *num.* 70. Those Civilians that are most charitable to Necessity, make it no plea at all except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonick Laws onely those persons are allowed to drink at their Neighbours Well, that had

had in vaine ſought a Spring, by digging fifty cubits deep in their owne ground. We allow the diſburdening of a Shipp in imminent perill of wrack; But this will not excuſe thoſe, who upon a fond or feigned previſion of a State-tempeſt, ſhall immediately caſt Lawe and conſcience over-board; Diſcard, and quit Rudder and ſteerage, and ſo aſſiſt the danger, they pretend to fear.

Pauſanias tells of a Chappell in *Acrocorinth*, dedicated to Neceſſity and violence; thoſe Twin-Goddeſſes may be fit ob-

Celius Rhodig. 1025.

jects

jects for the worship of Heathens; but 'tis pitty they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamentall deceit lyes in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid Propositions are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies, and severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of Gods word, and Nationall Lawes: All the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted, according to the ancient Philosophick Maxime,

ime, Ἑνὸς Ατόπου δοθέν-
τος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι
συμβαίνειν.

Prin-

Principle IX.

The Polititian must wave all Relations, both Sacred and Civill, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of blood.

SUch as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp Dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of Tyrants, a lust after greatnese.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads, that the wals of

of *Rome* were cemented with bloud, is known and commended by *Machiavel*; Although the superstructure was brave, yet if we search the foundation, we shall finde it laid in the red ruines of her wasted neighbours; That the first Founder became a fratricide upon reason of State, to guard his new Conquest, by freedom from a Competitor; is not onely vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the City in its structure alone, but after in its reparation; when the

Upon *Livy l.2.c.3: Thebe maritum, Timoleon fratrem, Cassius filium hoc jure interfecere.*

the Sons of *Brutus* were sacrific'd to the design of their Father: So that *Rome* was not only nurs'd with bloud, but after grouth and ripenesse, she sustained her selfe, lived and thrived upon *Magna & sanguinolenta latrocinia*; so that our Politician can scarce want examples in the applauded actions of this City, to patronize the most crimson and skarlet sin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generosity of *Neroe's* Mother, who is reported to have said of her sonne,

'Απο-

Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω, Let my Son be my murderer, ſo he may be a Monarch; According to the advice of an high-ſpirited fury, *Pro Regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, Imperia pretio quolibet conſtant benè*; An Empire cannot be purchaſed too dear, though it coſt the blood of Millions.

He is much taken with the Gallantry of the *Mammaluks*, who abuſed the eaſineſſe of the Egyptian *Sultan*, and wore the Supremacy three hundred years, upon the length

length and keenneſſe of an uſurping Sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he commends the *Ottoman* wiſdom; for the great Turk rivets himſelf to the Imperiall Chair, with the bones of his murdered Brethren. Aſpiring deſires are not only inſatiate, but admit of any ſin; that will promote their ends: See *Baſſianus* murthering his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers armes; *Andronicus* ſtrangling his Couſin *Alexius*, leſt he ſhould have a part in the Empire that had right to all: See *Cæſar* ſlighting the Oathes

Oathes by which he had obliged his obedienee to the *Roman* Senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing ſo ſacred but it violates. The Gods muſt bow and yeeld to it, as *Tertullian*, *Id negotium ſine Deorum injuriâ non eſt, eadem ſtrages manium & Templorum, tot ſacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de Gentibus Triumphi.* In Apologet.

Prin-

Colaſterion.

THe Italian Polititian ſeems to intimate a ſcruple, when he ſaies, ——*Si jus violandum eſt, regnandi cauſâ violandum eſt*, His (If) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeale to the bar of Nature, or Divinity (though poſſibly the entire aſſertion may have ſomething of truth) yet we ſhall find that wicked (if) abſolutely baniſhed.

'Tis true, we may more juſtly pity him, that ſwallows a bait fair and gliſtring, than a perſon

on that tempts temptations to deceive him; or catches at Flies, and trifling allurements: because in the first case a greater reluctancy is requisite, and the dart may possibly be so sharp, as to pierce through the Armour of a sober Resolution; But all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath beforehand designed its beauty, and faireneſſe, to apologize for the foulneſſe of the sin: for here the greatneſſe of the Temptation will not at all extenuate the grosseneſſe of the crime: No more than he

mitigates his Robbery, who shall plead, that hee stole nothing but Gold and Jewels.

The World is much mistaken in the value of a Scepter or Crown; we gaze upon its brightnesse, and forget its brittlenesse, we looke upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all those gay things which wee fondly fancy to our selves were really to be found in Greatnesse, yet still he payes too deare, that pawnes his Heaven for it: he that thus buys a short bliss,

bliſſe, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchaſe, but (if mercy prevent not) Eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Chriſtian, if unlawfull; ſuch preſidents may perchance baffle the Vulgar (in whoſe Creede you may inſert what you pleaſe) but wil be very cold anſwers, when we appeare before a ſevere Tribunall: It concernes us rather to obſerve how ambition claimes kindred with every other vice, ſtoops, and takes up every ſinne

lies in its way; and, if upon enquiry we finde it to bee indeed such a complicated mischiefe, it will become us studiously to shun it our selves, and seriously to detest it in others.

Prin-

Principle X.

A generall Innovation contributes much to the growth and security of Usurpation.

WEE may receive this as a Tradition, handed to us from the great Patriarchs of Policy, attested by the practice of the subtilest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like Perswasions.

1. Because such an Innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design; for when the waters are troubled, tis

hard to see the bait.

2. Because the Parenthesis betwixt an old and new government, flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desirs that are for a relapse into the old, and yet incouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because when all things are reduced into a Chaos and rude heape, when all the lines and Lineaments of the former Government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten: for suppose a Kingdom made a Lump, with-

without ſhape and void, and it is like *materia prima*, prone to imbrace any form; when an Inſtrument is diſtun'd, you may ſet it to what key you pleaſe; and he that cannot ſometimes looſen the ſtrings, will never make good Muſick upon *Syneſius* his Harp.

4. Becauſe by new moulding of Juriſdictions, and offices of State, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying thoſe that have ſerv'd us; and for others its very familiar to ſee ſome ſtubborn and rigid opiniators, who have

continued long unshaken either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their Principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of Honour and Riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden Eloquence, as it is in the *Adage*,

Τὴν Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν νικῶσι χελῶναι.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependance, and make others adhere to our fortunes, then by winding the concernments of other men upon the same bottom with

our Interest; we may observe this from the practice of great Favourites, who alwayes delight in these Props, and are carefull to set their whole Tribes in the sunshine of favour.

5. Because such a general Deordination gives a taste and Relish to the succeeding Government, though in its selfe not so delectable; for *Aristotle* 3 Pol. notes, that Democracy is better than Anarchy.

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of these turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdivi-

ding, and parcelling out your great end; for by this meanes they which refuſed to cloſe with it in groſſe, will receive it in retaile: and having entertained ſome portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole will be by degrees quieted and appeas'd.

Beſides, when all things are ruffled and confuſed, it is then the Devils Holy-day, and therefore our work-day: The noiſe is ſo loud, that it drowns the voice of the Lawe; and there may be ſome truth in his waggery, who ſayd, That ſuch as

mean.

mean to commit a Rape upon the Body politick, must put out the Lawes; as others upon a like occasion use to put out the Lights.

Finally, If wee ever hope to sin with Impunity, to usurp prosperously or to govern Arbitrarily; wee must take out that Lesson in *Plautus*:

Idem facere, quod plurimi alij, quibus Res timida aut Turbida est; Perpetuo turbare usque, ut ne quid possit conquiescere.

Cola-

Colasterion.

IS most certain, that sinister ends are promoted by Innovations; but it lyes in our bosomes to promote or quench the Innovations themselves, which we can no way better do, than by a strict adherence to the Laws; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us. If we observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of State-Novellists; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are cross-byassed with faction.

As

As a caution againſt changes in Government, give me leave to repeate, what was long ſince told us by an ingenious Lord, --- That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduc'd by that mutation, is ſuch as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the leaſt dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniencies which it brings, cannot be foreſeene; and therefore ſuch as make title to wiſdome, will not undergo great dangers, but for great neceſſities. *Faulkland.*

But

But further, let me appeale to generall experience, yea, let me ask thee (Reader) if thou haſt never before heard, or read of a Nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its Neighbours; and yet being inſenſible of its happineſs, or poſſeſt with fond hopes of betterıng its condition, has cloſed with pretended friends, and reall enemies, and gladly contributed to its owne ruine.

So apt men are to catch at the ſhadow, though they hazatd the ſubſtance: we may gueſſe at the Morall of the Frogs

in

in the Fable, who could finde no ſatisfaction in a ſtill Prince, and were after forced to abide the ſeverities of a Tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be ſuch diſtempers in a State, as ſhall neceſſarily require amendment; Let it be done with the Pruning-hook of the Law, and not with the Sword of violence: For I never read, that Illegall, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious, were fit Epithets for Reformation. And 'tis fit Chriſtians ſhould forbear the uſe of ſuch ſurly Phyſick, till they have levied

levied a Fine in the Court of Heaven, and cut off the Intail of the ſeventh Beatitude.

This may ſuffice to reveale in ſome meaſure, *Arcanum Ambitionis*, ὑπερηφανίας μυστήριον. I could add much more; but that I judge it a fitter task for our Nephews, when Pens ſhall be infranchiſed.

And now (Reader) let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever baniſh this curſed Policy out of *Europe*, and the whole Chriſtian World; and damne it downe to Hell, from whence originally

nally it came; and let ſuch as delight to abuſe others, thinke of that ſelf-couſenage, with which in the interim they abuſe themſelves; God permitting the Devill to revenge the Impoſture. And whilſt we are buſie with politick ſtratagems, and tortious Armes to invade the rights of others; Let us all conſider that this is not the violence which takes Heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily Oraiſons, that God would guard our Pulpits from ſuch Boutefeus, as like *Ætna* and *Veſuvius*, belched

belched out nothing but flames, and fiery discourses; using the Scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some Pontificians; who transported with the vehemence of Hildebrandian zeal, think the temporall Monarchy of Popes sufficiently Scripturall, from the saying of Christ to *Peter*——*Pasce oves*. Farr be it from us to intitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrines, it is easie to distinguish the Vulture from the Dove. The miscarriages of the Clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of

of their function, as probably he that invenomed the Eucharist has the more to answer for his Triple Crown.

It is manifest, that wee are fallen into the dregs of Time; we live in the rust of the Iron Age, and must accordingly expect to feel, *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World: What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *Antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Astræa* into Heaven? And have left such degenerous successors, as cruelty, pride,

pride, fraud, envy, oppreſſion, *&c.* Such qualities as abundantly juſtifie the worſt of Heathens, and diſhonour the name of Chriſtians: I thinke it may ſafely be affirmed, That if a new *Europæ ſpeculum* were ſincerely written, it might be contracted into this ſhort Summary;

Novi ego hoc ſeculum quibus moribus ſit; Malus bonum, malum eſſe vult, ut ſit ſui ſimilis; turbant, miſcent, mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, ſacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit;

Trinummus.

Hinlca Gens, &c.

That

THat eternall Majeſty, which raiſed ſo brave a Fabrick, out of ſuch indiſpoſed materials; that weilds the world with his finger, ever ſince it was made; that controules the wave, and checks the tumult of the people: that ſits above, and laughs at the malignant counſels, and devices of wicked men: Let his mercy be implored for the ſpeedy ſuccour of his diſtreſſed Church; That the Rod of *Aaron* may bloſſome; That the Tabernacle of *David* may be raiſed; That the ſubtle

may

may be caught in their own ſnares; And that the Reſult of all afflictions, may be the greatning his glory, and exalting of his Scepter.

FINIS.